1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

159 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the
756 spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A sha-
man, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the
787 spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (lɛme'is) and Falcon (ɛndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spŭ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wŭs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 A second site is ma'kwalḳs, a point of rock projecting over Crater
787 lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tk̄akŏnks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnĕḳăs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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778 787

the heads of others. He was frightened and did not swim but went home. As soon as he started home the thunder began to roll; it pursued him all the way. He was afraid of it, so he jumped into Klamath lake. He sat in the water for a long time before the thunder left him. He became a shaman because of this; he had the thunder spirit in him and sang the thunder song. Finally people killed him because he became so powerful that they feared he would kill them with his spirit.

778

Stō'kmōte, the headland of Eagle Ridge, is on the west side of Klamath lake. Spirit horses live in the lake near the point, as instanced above.

North of Modoc point are two groups of rocks. The first, red rocks on the hillside a half-mile from the station, represents a bear's entrails. Two big rocks somewhat farther north and on the plain are Wolf and his wife. When people mourn for a dead child, men go to the Wolf rock to seek power, women to his wife. They seek to be strong and to run well. They wrestle with these rocks.

778 787

There is an eddy in which they swim a mile and a half above the mouth of Williamson river, opposite the cremation pile on the right bank. An otter (k!olt), bearing stripes, is seen in this. Many spirit otters of this sort are seen at k!o'ltamtels, north of Klamath Falls.

A channel cutting through a bend of this river several miles from its mouth is called ḳoḳa'ḳ'ūt. A man saw a water snake (called to'kĕ) in this place. It was as big as a tree and had two straight, pointed white horns. He told a shaman, who said that, the snake having caught him, he could not be cured. This man died in two days. While this story suggests it, I am not sure that they swim for power here. Another informant stated that at Teoka'lwas, just above this, is a huge horned snake (wīsḷḳ, snake generically). Possibly the same one is meant. In a tale the hero Wawiwō'ḳlos cuts the snake's head off.

[539]

Wltă'mūmpai, black bear's place, is at a sharp bend in the lower Williamson river (a mile above the highway bridge) overlooked by a high bluff. Long ago when men came to this place to swim they found no water there. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there," he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman. So people try to get power there now.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[186] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bzrükse'was below Chiloquin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
774 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are
775 separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

[186] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

which their assistants hold or with which they dance. In fact, the use of special dance staffs is general among all Quinault who have spirits, as it is among the southern Puget Sound Salish. It is strange that neither Dr. Sapir nor I learned of either type of carving among the Wishram, but our information is not full.[493]

171* 532 756 535 [114]

A tall painted pole is erected in front of the Klamath shaman's lodge from which dangles a cord bearing at intervals bunches of feathers, a piece of wood, and a miniature gambling tray, all these representative of spirits. There are analogues of this southward to the Maidu. Such a pole is also erected outside a Modoc shaman's dwelling; it is painted and bears the skins and feathers of various spirit animals. It is used earlier at the novice's dance. This is described as some three or four meters high and decorated with paint and a few feathers. Such a pole is set up when a Shasta shaman rids a locality of disease: it has baskets hung from it. Again when an Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman cures, a pole is sometimes set up near the house, to which is tied a bunch of feathers (*qaqu*). The *qaqu* has a significant function; it is obtained with difficulty on his spirit quest and has the power to tell him where the disease is located. The poles used for a Northeastern Maidu shaman novice are somewhat different. They are set up on the roof of the house in which the inaugural dance takes place, and inside above the spot where he stays; others are carried to the mountains where novices go on their quests. These are short wands, a meter to a meter and a half long, variously painted, with pendent strings of feathers and acorn shells, or bunches of feathers. These have some obscure but intimate relation to his spirits. Similar wands are set up at the dedication of a new dance house by the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley.[494]

171* 756 778

Among the items of a Klamath shaman's costume are a forehead band or neckband of woodpecker scalps mounted on a buckskin foundation and a bunch of yellowhammer feathers worn on hat or neck. The feathers of both these birds have value and ceremonial usage in California but not to the north.

171* 756 292

Woodpecker scalps attain the status of money among the Yurok and perhaps their neighbors. Not only have they value in themselves, but they are worked into ceremonial headdresses over most of northern California. The Yurok and Hupa use forehead headbands like those

171* 292 435

[493] Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 10, Doctrine of Souls, 40; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[494] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130, 136; Dixon, Shasta, 475–476, 487, Notes on Achomawi, 218, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 275–278, 312.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K 756 796 [221] shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

K M [718] [531]

K M [858]

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

K M [789]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

measure of official sanction. "I have recently induced their chiefs and people," he reported, "to dispense with one half or more of their native doctors, each chief and his people selecting one to retain. They came into this plan more readily than I had apprehended."[8] On a visit to the Agency, Lindsay Applegate came upon the new system and, in a letter bristling with indignation, wrote "[Nickerson] turned to me and remarked that they ware his indian docters that he had invited the indians to furnish to practice with his docter at the same time [.]"[9]

Meanwhile, the growing success of the medical program upon the reservation sapped the authority of the shamans in what was their last legitimate field. The personality of Dr. Royal, who had doubled as chief of police, apparently did much to win over some of the chiefs, as did his treatment of syphilitic cases among the Indians. (Since, as Roork had remarked, the disease had been contracted by Indians in the course of their annual trading trips to Oregon City and other points,[10] it may have had a higher incidence in chiefly families.) They desired to retain him and, wrote Nickerson in advocating this, "Should he remain permanently the chiefs have agreed to do all they can to do away with their Indian doctors. These Indian doctors have heretofore had almost unbounded sway over the people."[11]

In outlawing shamanistic activities, the Agency in effect drove a wedge between the shaman and his ritual assistants: the interpreter, caller, and singers. Since a curing seance was a public demonstration, it involved too many participants to be concealed easily; and the shamans, formerly among the most respected and feared members of the tribe, were not given to skulking. Moreover, in native theory, supernatural power waxes with use; and when performances were no longer given frequently, that power declined.

Recalled H. N.:

> I always seen David Hill go among the people and interpret the agent's words. Sally [the shaman] said, "I didn't do it myself, but my medicine do it. It's up to my medicine. If I do it, it's the medicine's fault." But David Hill said, "It's better for you to quit than to have trouble for yourself, or your family. That's what the agent wants."
>
> . . .
>
> Nobody ever called her after the orders were given. They might help minor things. I watched Sally. I watched her doctor.

538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 Either parent may take the responsibility
867 of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 Since a well mannered child brings some
858 prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[1]

858 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially
574 in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette
264 for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 An important part of training consists in
778 developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

[1] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

869 hear about these spots first in stories. Later
the parents point out the sacred sites as they
• 778 pass by them. Many of the places are referred
to as "doctor rocks." Children are warned never
to run or play near them lest they should fall
and become crippled.

869 Klamath religion is very closely associated
with shamanism[17] so that most of the religious
756 attitudes acquired are directed toward shamans.
Shamans are the most important, powerful, and
feared individuals in the tribe. Small children
are warned never to bother one, but to run and
hide whenever a shaman appears, or he may cause
sickness. Children are told, "There's a doctor;
don't run in front of him, or he'll trip you.
Don't ever look at him when he is smoking."
Even the shaman's own children fear him.

861 Obedience is achieved by parents in a num-
ber of ways. They frequently scold erring
children, small ones being perhaps most often
threatened with some supernatural punishment for
misbehavior. Whippings are not rare, but are
probably never severe. A child is switched
across his hands or the back of his legs with a
willow switch, or the child's hair or ears are
pulled. Corporal punishment is seldom resorted
to unless the child has made the same mistake
several times and has not heeded scoldings.

861 Obedience is also achieved by instilling in
the child a fear of ghosts, spirits, and other
776 supernatural beings who kidnap bad children.
775 Owl is the most potent supernatural threat,
feared by child and adult alike. When a child
cries at night or is naughty, his parents
threaten, "Owl will come to pluck out your eyes
[539] or carry you off to a cave." If the child fails
to heed the warning at first, the parents call,
"Owl, come listen to this child." The effec-
tiveness of the threat is increased by the
child's knowledge of the story about a baby who
was carried off by an owl to a cave near Modoc
Point. The baby gradually sprouted feathers and
turned into an owl. Bear and Coyote are simi-
larly used to silence a crying child.

In the same way children are warned about
ghosts who might snatch them away from the camp
unless they are good.[18] Ghosts hover about the
camp constantly and are especially dangerous to
little ones. For that reason children are never
allowed out after sundown unless accompanied by
an adult. The child is told to turn his left
side and raise his left arm to a ghost if he
ever sees one; only in this manner can sickness
be avoided.

784 Since ghosts constitute such a peril, chil-
dren must never go near the cremation grounds
775 where they might contract a ghost sickness,
which can be cured only by a powerful shaman.
Children never attend funerals, nor are they al-
lowed to cross the path over which a corpse has
been carried.

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[17] A thorough discussion of Klamath shamanism appears, ibid., pp. 93-138.

[18] Ghosts are described in Voegelin, elements 4655-4706.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

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165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

[534] 166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by lílhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 60.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 166; 17.

166; 22. The kâls flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778] 167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχi'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχi'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múlnash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193] 168; 41. Sχi'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wásha wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktukuash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaſkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193] 170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possesaive case, to stand for wa-u'htû'asam.

[194] 170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wä'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.